

Radio Free Europe, a division of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., was organized in December, 1949 to conduct as effective a type of Psychological Warfare as might be devised, against the Soviet-imposed Communist regimes of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania. Its broadcasting policy is primarily designed to encourage the enslaved people of the captive countries in their hope of ultimately regaining national free dom as well as individual liberty; to demoralize the regimes by nourishing the natural anxieties of Communist functionaries by sowing seeds of dissension and by threatening retribution - leaving, however, the doors open to those who may yet be willing to purge themselves of their crimes; to impress our friends behind the Iron Curtain with their own inherent strength and the fundamental weakness of regimes which must rely on terror to maintain themselves in power; and to remind all listeners of the eternal spiritual values of the Western world, of democratic practice and of the political and economic benefits which European federation holds for the future of their countries once they are again free.

Radio Free Europe could not have hoped to approach the accomplishment of such a mission with any expectation of success if it had submitted to the shackles of conventional propaganda techniques. The conventional propaganda organization is strictly government-controlled and must, in consequence, abide by diplomatic considerations. Moreover, it is the instrument of a foreign nation as seen from the listeners' point of view and will not easily be believed when it attempts to reflect the interests of the peoples it addresses. Radio Free Europe does not speak as an instrument of and for the people of the United States - it is not

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the Voice of America but that of Free Hungary, of Free Czechoslovakia, of Free Poland, Free Bulgaria, Romania and Albania. It promotes the ideas of the Free World—it champions U. S. policy but it does so not because it is itself an instrument of American policy but because the United States is the champion of freedom, the leader of the free world, and because the future of the captive countries is, therefore, inextricably linked with Western ideas and with American policy. Apart from which, of course, RFE's mission coincides with American policy objectives.

Different, therefore, from the conventional propaganda organization, RFE's staff of exiles does not speak as the staff of an American organization but as the representatives of their own presently enslaved nations; they originate their own scripts, broadcast in their own style, participate in the formulation of policy. An American staff of experts guides and advises, but avoids directing; fundamental policies - no matter where they originate - are the result of consultation among partners in a venture, allies in a common struggle. The impact of this organizational practice is reflected in fresh, aggressive, vital scripts - the scripts of front-line fighters.

However, there is more to it than that. Speaking as Czechoslovaks, Hungarian, etc., RFE's exiles can call a spade a spade and need not consider the niceties of diplomatic usage; they are, after all, the avowed enemies of the regimes which drove them into exile and which hold captive their fellow-countrymen - though the U. S., may maintain diplomatic relations with these regimes. Thus, to give but a single telling example, RFE, in commenting on the outbreak of the war in Korea, could do two things no American radio station could have done at the time: it could point to the USSR as the aggressor long before VOA could possibly have done so; and it could

of the North Koreans, the tool of Soviet aggression, as victims of Soviet policy - thus showing a deep understanding of the realities of political life behind the Iron Curtain.

Furthermore, this basic organizational policy enabled RFE to depart from the usual propaganda practice of broadcasting, for a few hours a day, INTO our target areas and to assume instead the part of the ONLY GENUINE Polish, Hungarian etc., networks. The Voice of Free Czechoslovakia has assumed the position of Radio Prague - it is Radio Prague Two; it is on the air for 20 hours a day and broadcasts a program designed to give everything to everybody as if it were the only radio station available to the people of Czechoslovakia which, in a deeper sense, it is. The program includes relevant American and world news; it comments editorially on the world scene; it is in there slugging it out by interpreting Communist speeches, newspapers, broadcasts within minutes following their release. It projects the values of freedom by showing the free world as a world worth fighting to rejoin, and it denounces oppressors, great and small, on the basis of actions which may have occurred only a few hours, days or weeks ago. It has special programs for youth, labor, intellectuals, for women, farmers and military men; it offers religious consolation, cultural, satirical and, to give a respite, merely entertaining shows. Most of the necessarily up-to-date information for which these programs call, derives from RFE's own information gathering and research facilities. RFE maintains a staff of reporters wherever significant news may first become available - from Stockholm to Istanbul; this staff specializes in interviewing refugees on conditions in their countries. Competent researchers add new information to their files, analyze it and piece together what is probably a fairly accurate picture of conditions. Trained

propaganda planners conclude on enemy vulnerabilities, pinpoint targets and suggest promising approaches to them. Monitors watch, around the clock, for enemy propaganda lines designed to counteract RFE's work. Little is left to improvisation.

RFE's exiles staff does not represent exiled political factions; it is a staff of competent professionals recruited from exiled journalists, radio commentators, economists, labor officials, etc. They were selected for their political maturity, their professional qualifications, and for their devotion to the cause of freedom and democracy.

RFE's physical equipment consists at present of 20 shortwave and one powerful medium wave transmitters which are on the air more than 1,500 hours a week. Located either in Germany or in Portugal, 4 of them beam, simultaneously 20 hours of broadcast daily into Czechoslovakia; 5 others beam 16 1/2 hours daily into Hungary; another 5, 12 1/2 hours into Poland. Three transmitters beam alternatively 3 hours of broadcasts into Bulgaria, 3 into Romania and 1 1/2 hours into Albania. Use made of these transmitters is, however, eminently flexible. When the occasion warrants it - as it did at the occasion of Stalin's death - all 21 transmitters were simultaneously employed to saturate alternative Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, overpowering all jamming for considerable periods of time.

The physical plant built by RFE is considered outstandingly good. Thus Westinghouse Electric Corporation which surveyed it twice, said about our German installation, -

"Numbered in the creditable performance of the personnel of RFE are: A new modern 135 kw broadcast band transmitter was installed on the air six months after ground was broken for the building - a job that normally would take 10 to 16 months, probably nearer to the latter, in the United States."

About our Portuguese installation, Westinghouse said:

"The summary of the RARET installation can be made in a few words. The whole undertaking has been accomplished and become a working reality in an almost unbelievably short time. The quality and performance of the work completed is first-class and the funds expended are probably below what would be considered normal.

"The men in charge of the operation are competent. They know what is expected of them and attack their work with energy and zest.

"The spirit of the organization transcends anything heretofore witnessed. The whole group thrives under pressure. It is proud of RARET and the work it is doing."

Considering the great effort expended by RFE, one may well ask whether it meets with success. However, there is no easy answer to this question. In the first place, Psychological Warfare is a secondary weapon; it depends for effectiveness on parallel political action. Secondly, no reliable yardsticks with which to measure success, exist; even the approximations which Public Opinion Polls sometimes produce, cannot be procured behind the Iron Curtain. To draw conclusions from the flood of favorable letters which reach RFE from the target areas would mean overlooking that these letters come primarily from people LEAST influenced by Communist indoctrination. One might be inclined to credit refugees most of whom praise RFE broadcasts but here, too, too great a margin for error exists. People who choose freedom would again be predisposed in favor of RFE, and many of them like - as World-War-Two experience proved - to please their interrogators. RFE is disinclined to take such information at face value.

Analytical approaches to the problem of evaluating effectiveness such as RFE employs to stimulate self-improvement, have their value but remain basically what might be called inspired guess work. In these circumstances, only one criterion may be considered fairly safe: positive reaction to RFE broadcasts on the part of the listening audience and particularly on the part of the Communist regimes themselves. One of the few certain rules of Psychological Warfare is to disregard, if possible, hostile propaganda and not to

publicize it further by replying. If RFE became a powerful factor in the struggle for the minds of people, the Communist regimes contributed greatly by answering broadcasts which they considered dangerous to themselves. They would not have done so, unless they felt that RFE's effectiveness required counteraction. When the Communist regime of Czechoslovakia took, on several occasions, diplomatic steps against RFE - protesting to both the US Government and to the UN - it either overrated RFE's effectiveness or feared it. When RFE speculated on the probability of a monetary reform in Czechoslovakia, following a pattern set in Poland and Romania, the people of Czechoslovakia went on a buying spree; more significant than their trust in RFE's reliability, however, is the fact that the regime did not dare to go through with the monetary reform which undoubtedly had been planned. When the Hungarian regime embarked on deporting masses of middle class citizens, RFE - by saturation broadcasting on the subject - created an amount of publicity which embarrassed the Communists; as a result they relaxed pressure, departed from the practice of mass deportations and employed slightly more humane methods in deporting individuals. A minor RFE program commented on the high rate of heart disease among record workers (Stakhanovites); a few days later, Szabad Nep, leading Communist newspaper in Hungary, published a two-column article claiming with rather transparent statistics that Stakhanovites live longer than other workers. When RFE black-listed the names of those responsible for atrocious conditions in a certain slave labor camp, these conditions - as RFE learned later from refugees - began to improve overnight. When RFE claimed that Rudolph Slansky had been subject to psychological preparation for his trial, a member of the Czech cabinet considered it necessary to deny this claim in public. And finally RFE, in order to prove the mendacity of Communist regimes - has at times quoted fictitious characters with equally fictitious statements; in at least

two cases, Communist newspapers "interviewed" these non-existent persons and published their denial. The many instances of these types inspire RFE with a confidence in the effectiveness of its efforts.